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The community studied was homogeneous, northern, predominantly white-collar, upper middle class, and white. The major consequences of the open enrollment program were the following: (1) An internal effect upon the schools - students were placed in the track system and classified by achievement and intelligence test scores; Negro students found themselves in the lower track; and (2) The external impact on the community - there was considerable resistance and latent hostility to the program; several families transferred their children to private schools.							
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WHITE CITIZEN RESPONSE TO THE "OPEN ENROLLMENT PROGRAM"

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One of the most important methods devised in northern metropolitan centers to eliminate *de facto* school segregation is "open enrollment." This program permits Negro and Puerto Rican students to transfer voluntarily to underutilized white schools. Students are moved from a sending "x" (minority) school, defined as comprising a minority group population of 90 per cent for elementary schools and 85 per cent for junior high schools. The "receiving" or "y" (majority) schools comprise 90 and 85 per cent whites respectively. At present the permissive program in New York City has attracted some 15,000 students since its inception in 1960. A

more complex series of additional programs is currently being worked out amid controversy that has seriously split the community. In the long run it is hoped that open enrollment as part of a more comprehensive approach will integrate the city's schools and provide equality of educational opportunity for all students.

The present study examines white citizen reactions to the open enrollment policy as two busloads of Negro children are transported to an all-white school. It also explores the dynamics of their reactions as well as the possible short- and long-range consequences.

Park is a small, private, planned community of some 5,000 people located within the Greater New York area. Park's inhabitants are attracted by the community's uniform architecture, its layout of streets, trees and parks, and generally neat and cared for appearance. From the beginning, all purchasers in the community have been carefully investigated and every caution taken "to encourage only agreeable, educated, quiet people who might live together in neighborly friendliness and congeniality." This restrictive policy has produced a homogeneous community, predominantly white collar, upper middle class, two-thirds of whom earn incomes of \$10,000 or more per year at professional and managerial occupations. Nearly half the residents have graduated from or attended college.

Social life in Park centers around the clubs and various churches. The Men's Club, Women's Club, country club, and various church clubs all offer social activities. Park House, a private club restricted to white Christians, caters to young families with children. The youngsters are divided into age groups and much spirited competition goes on within these groups, with achievements being recognized every spring and Award Day. Friendships made at school are very often carried to and furthered in Park House, for there are few families with children who are not members.

For the most part the local view of life in Park is one of self-satisfaction. It is a comfortable place to live and bring up children. Nevertheless, some who express concern with the character of community life are distressed by the social behavior or misbehavior in Park. As one person put it:

There is a preponderance of instability, alcoholism, divorce, suicide, pregnant brides, and the like.

Another citizen expressed concern with the religious schisms developing in the community life:

Too many people think that because they live in Park they are automatically superior. I wish we could keep the area from being entirely anything—it was no good with no minority groups in it, but it will be no good if it becomes entirely Jewish.

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When asked whether they would be disturbed or unhappy if a Negro with the same income and education moved into the same block, half replied, yes.

1. I moved into Park because it is a beautiful and secluded community, one of the finest in the city, and I would be most unhappy.
2. I like the cozy little spot I'm in and don't want it changed.
3. Negroes move in, whites move out, neighborhoods deteriorate.
4. I like to have as neighbors persons with whom I may have social contact, and I do not care to associate socially with Negroes.

Some answered, no.

1. . . . not as long as he does not inflict his way of living upon me; I do not wish to inflict mine on him.
2. By this time he has learned what we would call maturity; it requires not simply income or education, but the absorption of education and breeding to be able to achieve this status.

INTRODUCTION OF OPEN ENROLLMENT

Into this community setting the school administrators decided to send two busloads of "minority" students, sixty-five in all, from an all-Negro area some thirty minutes away. The school had been selected because the local

principal thought the community was ready for such a program. Also, there was underutilized classroom space; 44 per cent of the Park children were in private schools, while another 17 per cent attended parochial schools.

The program was introduced to the local parents at an evening Parents' Association meeting in order that fathers and working mothers might attend. A member of the Human Relations Unit of the board of education explained the purpose of the program and the method to be used, but he received little reaction. The parents later contended that, because the school official was a Negro, they were "psychologically paralyzed" and therefore inhibited from voicing their honest opinion about the program. Many parents felt that they were merely told about the program and then sent home. One parent felt that the use of a Negro to introduce the program was "dirty politics" on the part of the board of education and a means of avoiding embarrassing questions.

WHITE REACTION

In order to draw a realistic picture of the community's reaction to the "invasion" of Negro minority students into Park, a sample survey was conducted in the spring of 1963 during the first year of the program.¹ An overwhelming number of respondents (75 per cent) were opposed to the open enrollment program. Nearly 60

per cent were in strong disagreement; only 3 per cent were strongly in favor. These figures are surprising, for citizens of the New York area are considered "tolerant" and "liberal" on the matter of the Negro's role in the community. No explicit official policy has advocated a segregated public school system. The *de facto* system that has developed is the result of residential patterns which segregated families along ethnic lines of race, religion, and nationality. Segregation follows socio-economic class lines as well.

The actual experience of open enrollment did not improve the evaluation of the program. In fact, negative attitudes increased slightly. One person who initially approved strongly of the program now stated:

I'm in favor of integration, thought it would be good for my children to know Negro children as classmates and good for some Negro children to have the advantages of our underutilized school. However, there should have been some effort to pick Negro children who would be most likely to adjust and benefit

¹ A questionnaire was left with the head of every fifth household and picked up a week later. The rate of response was 73 per cent, with 66 replies from the 90 households. Virtually every respondent (92 per cent) had heard of the program before answering the questionnaire.

from this experience. My children, instead of learning to accept other kids as equals regardless of color, are actually learning that Negro children are slower to learn and more likely to be discipline problems. I can't believe the Negro children are benefiting very much. Two-thirds of the respondents saw no advantages for either white or Negro children.

Those who believed there were advantages for the white children felt that the program might help to "reduce prejudice by showing them that 'the color of the Negro's skin is the only difference between them.'" "It enriches their experience by representing a 'foreign' point of view." "It helps for the children to associate with Negroes before any strong prejudices are developed." "White children in Park usually see Negroes only as domestics and delivery boys. Now they see Negroes as mothers, fathers and children, in other words as families just like their own."

Most of these advantages were considered to apply to the Negro children as well, for they learn that white children have the same interests and the same school routine. Most respondents felt that advantages for the Negro child took the form primarily of educational opportunities. "He may feel more relaxed with whites since he is now 'allowed' to attend a predominantly white school." "He sees

how the other half lives." "It gives the child exposure to normal community discipline." "It is my sincere hope that some of the Negro children will take home the seeds of a better way of life toward which they will aim in planning their own futures."

One respondent felt that the effect was reciprocal: the white person "gets to hate the Negro a little more" and the Negro "gets to hate the white a little more." Another felt that the advantage for the Negro was to give him "a feeling of superiority because he is mixing with 'better class' white children."

With regard to possible disadvantages of the program, a variety of answers predicted negative effects for both white and Negro children. Discipline problems have increased and learning has been decelerated to accommodate the slower child. Disadvantages for the Negro were the long bus ride (ten miles), loss of contact with neighborhood friends, not being able to play together after school, and the use of innocent children for "political ballyhoo."

If honesty is to prevail, there are no advantages to either group. Studies will reveal that the schools in so-called underprivileged areas produce a high number of our leading citizens.

Disadvantages perceived for the white students were:

1. There is a lowering of educational standards and standards of decorum.
2. Discipline problems are very disturbing. Also, some children and parents of these children resent handling the same books, holding hands in the playground activities. Vocabulary and manners decrease.
3. I have heard that there was a case of a Negro child molesting a six-year-old child.
4. The situation is obviously synthetic. The white children can easily get the idea that "we have to make room in our nice school for these unfortunate children." The Negro children act up because they are "being helped." This gives the white child a false impression.

Disadvantages for the Negro children were:

1. They are still kept apart from the white children. They live apart, they are bused-in separately, they leave separately, and do not join in after-school activities with their playmates.
2. They are being brought into a better community and are bound to be envious. They cannot visit the friends they make because they are too far away. Their bus is terribly overcrowded. I feel dangerously so. Several children have been injured by behavior problem children on the bus.

3. They lose contact with old friends, and not too many new ones are available.
4. Normal school discussions about home environment and ways of living may only accentuate differences and flaunt limitations of finances, opportunities, toys, clothes, etc., so that antagonisms are built up in underprivileged children.
5. They are out of their element, socially and economically. No future social relationships will be developed.

Half the respondents felt that academic achievement would be lower in integrated classes. A small portion of these had children in the integrated classes and had experienced directly a slowing of the scholastic process. Only two people felt that no change in standards or achievement had occurred during the two years of the program. One quarter could not judge without more information on the Negro children, and only one person thought that achievement would be higher.

LOWER ACHIEVEMENT

1. My child shows a lack of interest in work, has become a discipline problem, does this (I'm sure) for attention. The teacher spends a great deal of time with Negroes.
2. Time is lost from the educational plan to enforce discipline and

The fact that Baltimore, with a free choice of school plan, and the same proportion of Negroes in its elementary school population as St. Louis, had proportionately only slightly fewer segregated elementary schools than St. Louis where a neighborhood school policy is strictly enforced raises questions as to the effectiveness of free choice as a means of reducing segregation in the schools or its administration in Baltimore.

—Staff Report to U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1964

settle the children after long bus rides to school and prepare them for the ride home.

SAME ACHIEVEMENT

1. I think the children are grouped according to intellectual ability. The bright students are in a separate class and given an enriched program.
2. There should be no change if the teaching staff has adjusted normally and with little or no fanfare.

Various answers were given as to why the respondents thought Negro parents send their children to Park. Some stated that the parents thought this would offer a better educational experience; some felt that Negroes were forced to send their children; others felt that status was the prim-

ary motivation behind the entire situation.

1. It is an opportunity for better education, different environment, to have them become more rounded individuals and be able to cope with and help with integration.
2. They want to expose their children to other social attitudes.
3. Because the parents of the problem children lack interest, in some cases it is the principal rather than the parent who is instrumental in sending them.
4. There is a determination on the part of Negro parents to force integration in spite of the inconvenience, expense, etc. This same determination is apparent in the social and business world. In spite of their abilities or the lack of them, they demand a racial balance.
5. I'm certain that many individuals are encouraged to send their children because they are stimulated to do so by many individuals who are politically inclined. Never has a politician had a single solitary concern for the rectitude of his actions.
6. I think there are many sensible Negro mothers who object to this.

Nevertheless, 85 per cent of the respondents thought that white and Negro children should attend the

same schools. A majority qualified their answers by stating that if the children lived together in an integrated school district they should attend the same school, but that it was more important to attend neighborhood schools than to strive for integration.

ATTEND SEPARATE SCHOOLS

1. They are happier with their own friends and class—more relaxed and understanding.
2. If Negroes come from similar backgrounds—financial, religious, housing, etc.—then they should go to the same schools as the whites.

ATTEND SAME SCHOOL

1. Children should attend their neighborhood schools, regardless of race. This is the democratic principle upon which America was founded.
2. I believe in neighborhood schools, no gerrymandering of districts, no busing in.

A majority of the respondents have sent their children to public school. About half had sent them to private school at some time, and a fifth to parochial school. Half had sent their children to only one type of the aforementioned schools, while one-third had sent them to two types and 15 per cent to all three. The primary reasons for selecting each kind of school were:

PUBLIC SCHOOL

1. We are supporting our schools through our taxes and since it is necessary for our children to live with others of all races and creeds, it is important for them to learn how from childhood.
2. Since one lives in a community, one should be educated there with all the children of that community.

PRIVATE SCHOOL

1. First grade in private school has 17 children, while the same grade in public school has 43.

PAROCHIAL SCHOOL

1. The parochial school emphasized patriotism and religious activities, which we believe is a good strong foundation to withstand the liberal teachings the children may meet in college which try to tear down all the traditional instruction in church school and at home. This foundation is the bulwark against Communism in today's world.

PUBLIC SCHOOL, CHANGED TO PRIVATE SCHOOL

1. The inflexibility and shortcomings in public school instruction convinced us that private schools would meet needs more adequately.
2. They were not learning in the public school and we were tired of teaching them at home and paying for tutors on Saturday.

The type of education had an effect upon the reaction to the open enrollment program. Only those who preferred the public schools strongly favored the program. Parochial school parents almost unanimously opposed (90 per cent) the program, while more than three-quarters of the private school parents also were opposed. The religious factor appeared similarly important. Only one Catholic and one Jewish family approved the program. The Protestants, who are more likely to send their children to public schools, were slightly more inclined to favor the program.

CONSEQUENCES

This study portends two main consequences to the open enrollment program. The first is the internal effect upon the school and classroom, where students are placed in the "track" system and classified by achievement and intelligence scores. The Negro students found themselves clustered in the slower track. The effect of integrating the children was noticed primarily during lunch period, as the buses carrying the Negro children arrived after the neighborhood children had gone to their rooms. The Negroes were dismissed from their last classes a few minutes before the rest of the class in order to catch their bus which then stopped at another local elementary school to pick up the Negro children who attended there.

The second consequence of open enrollment was the external impact on the local school district area and the white parents in the receiving school. It is apparent from this study that considerable resistance and latent hostility exist toward the new program. Some parents have taken their children out of the public school and sent them on to private and parochial schools. Yet others have responded by serving as special tutors in a remedial reading program to assist the newcomers. Some, however, have begun to articulate their opposition to integration and the modification of the neighborhood school concept through such vocal organizations as Parents and Taxpayers (PAT).

Certainly there is a lesson to be learned from the open enrollment program and other methods to bring about equality of educational opportunity and a democratic society through its educational system. The citizen attitudes reported here raise in bold relief the many assumptions of sentiment and willingness of the northern white community to receive Negroes into their neighborhoods. Also, the study raises serious questions as to the ability of school leaders and administrators to create the climate necessary for successful school integration.

PLANNING AND THE NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOL

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The "neighborhood unit" as a planning concept has been cogently attacked on a number of occasions during the past twenty years. Despite these attacks, the idea of a neighborhood remains among the cherished values of most urban planners. "From Atlantic to Pacific and from Canada to Mexico, the basic Perry neighborhood unit, with only minor modifications, has served as the development module." (3,p.8.)

Part of the reason that the attacks have been ignored was succinctly stated in December, 1960, by the American Society of Planning Officials Planning Advisory Service. Its "Information Report No. 141" stated: "Without arguing the validity of the overall Isaacs-led critique, it is safe to say that the attack was measurably weakened by the absence of a concrete alternative proposal." (3,p.7.) The report goes on to assert that "... it appears that much of the momentum of the opposition movement has been exhausted." (3,p.8.) [See *Integrated Education*, December, 1963, p. 22, references to the criticisms by Prof. Reginald Isaacs.]

While the opposition movement among planners may be exhausted, recent events in New York, Chicago, Berkeley and elsewhere make it clear that there is a new, vigorous opposition stemming from the civil rights movement. This new opposition is not concerned with the entire neighborhood unit idea. It is concerned with the neighborhood school which Clarence A. Perry proposed as the social and design focal point of the neighborhood unit. (20) The new opposition proposes a definite social alternative, the racially integrated school.

Given the powerful legal and political attacks now being made upon the neighborhood school idea, it is the duty of the planning profession to reconsider its commitment to this